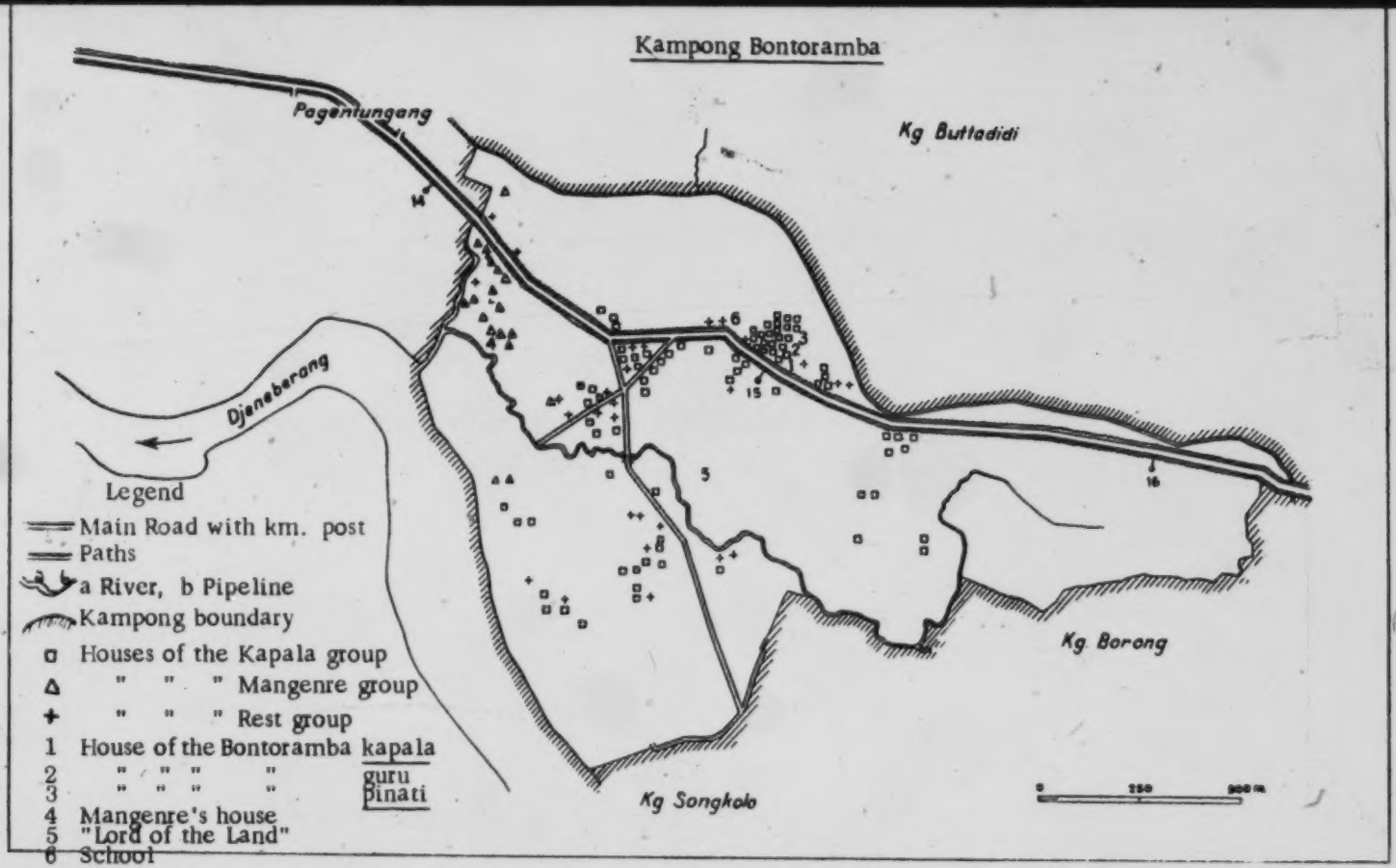

1:Chabor--vii E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility
166 which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

124 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36]
[62] Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

1:Chabot--19 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

000 /14 cont./2. E.E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
● 361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba.
369 Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

476 602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request 476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency, 558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever 609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior. 592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower ● 361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 612 621 Differences are thus observable between a household which lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 592 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30 592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua.
When he became head in that year, the members of both
groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both
he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to
turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where
the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest
of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was
somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration,
the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from
Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on
Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with
a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three
kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua,
as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen
from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups
of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A
number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have
already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated
related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[278] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the
most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit
with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around
the adat community head. The tendency toward separation
is increased by the difficulty of communication across the
Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance
of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of
marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[564] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community] Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs (check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself, going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the entering road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It appeared that most of the houses were located along the roads. I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not placed too close together so that the air could come up into the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e., of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands. Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation from time to time. However, she did sit at another table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
• 361 The road took me across great mountains. I could see endless curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
142 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
342 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
181 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P. 266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
• 361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua; Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
5105 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

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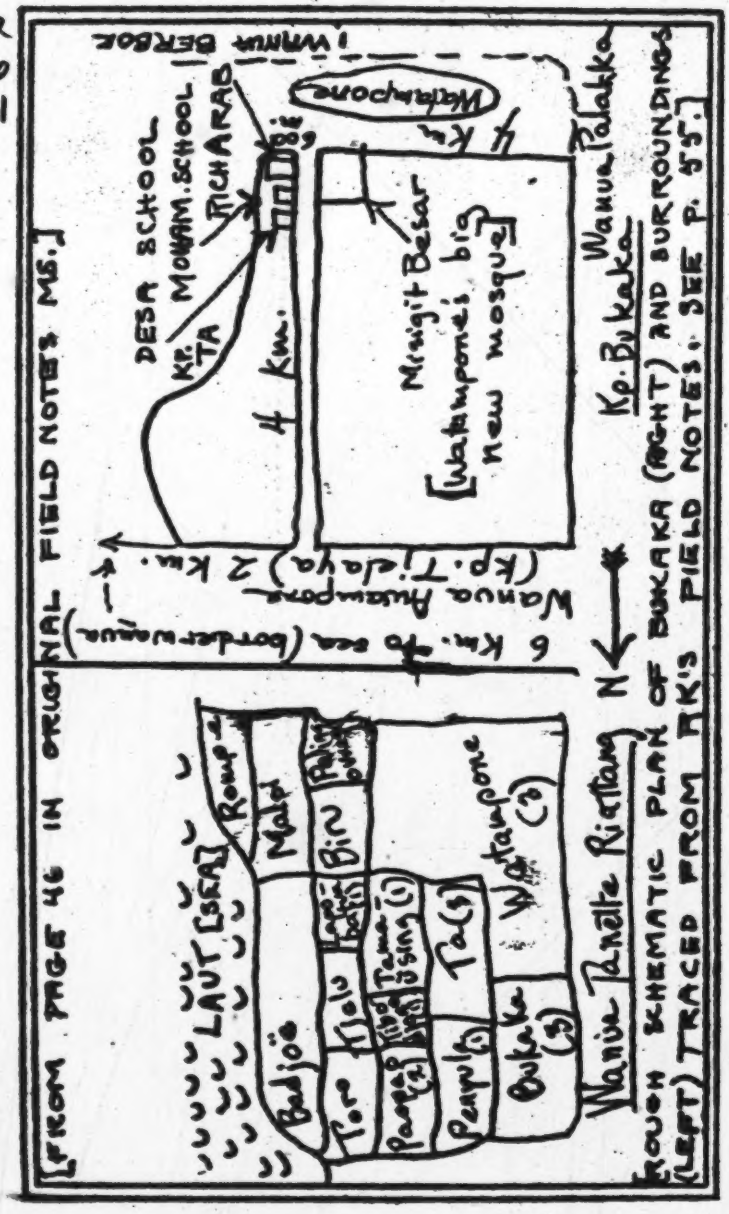
[FROM PAGE 46 IN ORIGINAL FIELD NOTES MS.]
Wanua Pa'rakka
Kp. Bukaka
Mesdjid Besar [Watampone's big new mosque]
Watampone
DESA SCHOOL
KP. TA
MOHAM. SCHOOL
MICHARAB
4 Km.
Wanua Ahampone (Kp. Tidoya) 2 Km.
6 Km. to sea (border wanua)
N
LAUT [SEA]
Badjoë
Tana
Pompëë
Pampu (2)
Bukaka (3)
Ta (3)
Watampone (3)
Biru
Malol
Wanua Pa'rakka Riattang
[ROUGH SCHEMATIC PLAN OF BUKAKA (RIGHT) AND SURROUNDINGS (LEFT) TRACED FROM RK'S FIELD NOTES. SEE P. 45.]

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) OB1 Indonesia
Makassar OG6

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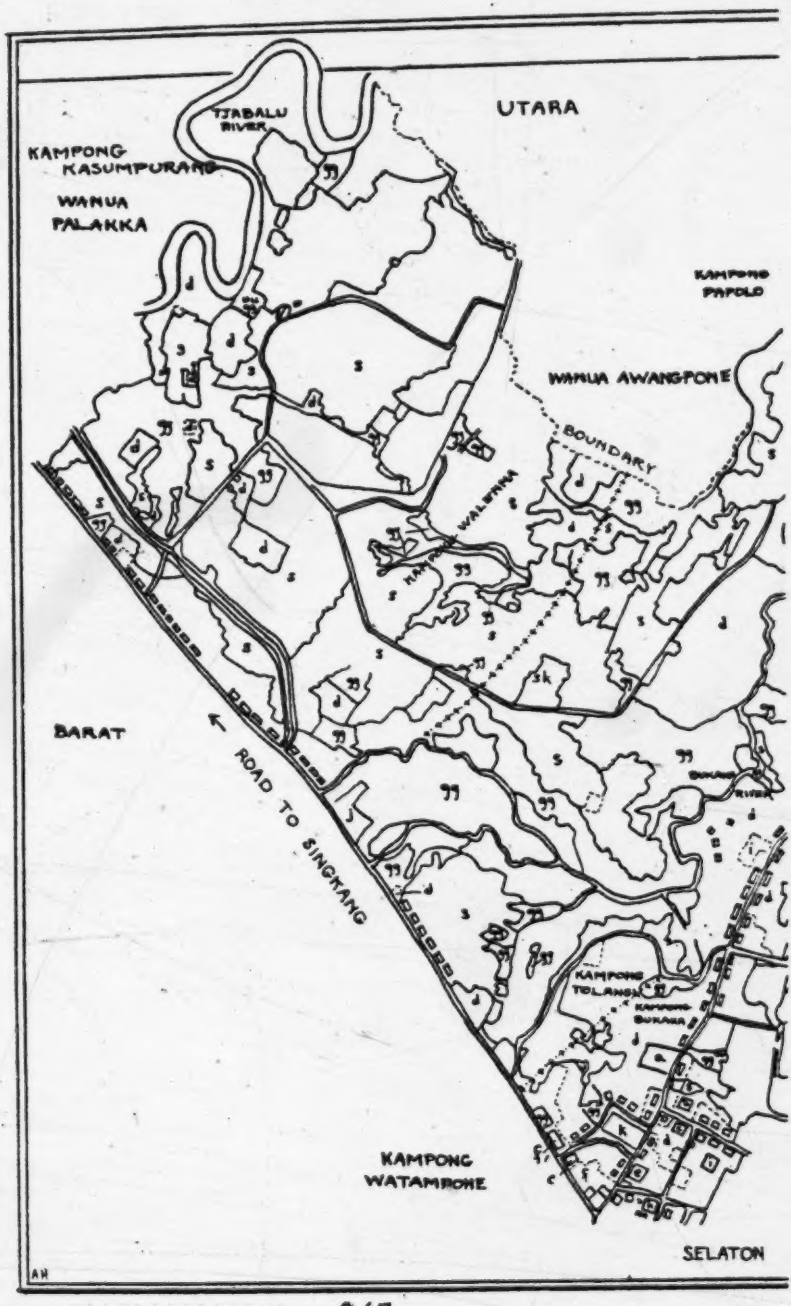

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBI Indonesia
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KAMPONG BUKAKA

WANUA TANETE RIATTANG

LANDSCHAP BONE

[APPROXIMATELY 1 KILOMETRE]